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The Story of Paul Crouch

New Republic

PERSPECTIVE ON GUATEMALA

Julian Huxley

discusses Oppenheimer's "Science and the Common Understanding"

Sen. Lister Hill:

The Perversion of Power

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

President Eisenhower didn't get to the 1954 Governors' Conference. At Seattle, in 1953, he told the Governors that aid for Indo-China was "the cheapest way that we can prevent . . . a most terrible" blow to American security. That blow has now fallen although Vice President Nixon earlier congratulated the American people that Communists everywhere had "lost the initiative." The fact is the US position has badly deteriorated. Secretary Dulles is so angry about it he won't go back to the Geneva conference. Mr. Nixon is so angry about it he blames everything on Dean Acheson. Indeed, the GOP needs an alibi—quick. An election lies ahead.

We must be candid; we are a bit scared. It is not the Communists that scare us but what Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield calls the "diplomacy of bluster and retreat" in the Administration. House GOP Leader Joe Martin, at the Lions' Convention in New York, disputed the Eisenhower idea of peaceful co-existence. He wants something tougher. Senate Majority Leader Knowland disputed the idea of staying in the UN if Red China enters. He wants a tougher policy. For a week Knowland was making American foreign policy, spontaneously and alone. He proceeded independently, without any advance consultation with his bosses, Ike and Dulles.

And while this increasingly warlike talk goes on the US is cutting off two army divisions. It is cutting $5.5 billion off the military budget. It is concentrating on air power though the French had complete air control in Indo-China and lost. It is letting out its belt, not pulling it in by cutting taxes. And now it is weakening its position in the UN, and weakening its relations with its allies, notably Britain. Honestly, if we didn't have such great respect for Eisenhower's military genius, of which we have heard so much, we should say this was folly.

One month from now, August 19, Eisenhower has a tentative date to speak at the Springfield, Ill., State Fair. It will be a date to watch. Democratic Sen. Paul Douglas, ex-president of the American Economic Association, ex-marine, running for re-election is up against Joseph Meek, lobbyist for the 10,000 storekeepers in the Illinois Federation of Retailers, a backer of the Bricker Amendment and putative supporter of McCarthy. The "Citizens for Eisenhower" group has withheld support for Meek, despite his appeal, on the ground that he won't pledge himself to back Ike's middle-road policies. So that leaves Ike with the August 19 political date where he must choose either "Citizens for Eisenhower" or Meek. On the other hand, he may deliver a speech that will alienate nobody, please everybody and say nothing. Ike can rise to such heights. From sour experiences one Washington reporter has dubbed the President "No-lead Ike."

The President won a substantial preliminary success on the farm issue in the House, and we congratulate him in all sincerity. The compromise House version which now faces a Senate battle makes a start, at least, in moving from a fixed to a sliding scale of farm support prices. Let it be recalled that Henry Wallace in this magazine, (*NR*, May 3) recently declared that continued federal accumulation of crops at rigid, artificial high prices, threatens the farmers with disaster. By fall the government will be storing two full years' supply of wheat. This simply can't go on. We admire and praise Secretary of Agriculture Benson for his quiet, good-humored optimism in winning a House success that reporters thought impossible.

Things have come to a pretty pass when a professional informer and ex-Communist like Paul Crouch is himself under investigation! (See page 7) Crouch denounces Attorney General Brownell for raising against him some petty item or other of alleged perjury. Few people understand the economics of being a paid informer. The government, we learn, has some 35 "contractors" for its anti-Communist cases. For example, Crouch appears regularly to accuse other men of Communism. He has appeared in about 60 cases, he says, getting $25 a day, about $10 expenses, and travel. In the last two years he made more than $9,000. Two of his colleagues (in a quite separate case)—informers Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson—accused the distinguished Dr. Ralph Bunche. But a loyalty board had the effrontery to exonerate him unanimously. The Alsop brothers pointed out some oddities in the informers' testimony and an examination is going on here too, over a matter of veracity. Such pettifogging disgusts us! After all, how are you going to run efficient national witch-hunts without paid informers? Is it possible for them always to be accurate? If there is one thing history teaches it is that they aren't accurate, from Titus Oates down.

Take it all in all, it has been a hard week for this irascible column. Here's a New York jury that's slapped $175,000 in libel damages on Pegler and the Hearst press; and a New Jersey Republican Senatorial candidate, Clifford Case, says that, if elected, he will vote to unseat Honest Joe McCarthy from the chairmanship of his committee. How are we to keep our chronic indignation at the proper pressure if people behave like this?

In Guatemala, however, things are going normally. We have thrown out the Communist-tainted government and substituted a junta of Colonels who promise a regime of stability with franchise only for those who can read (maybe 20 percent). Dulles feels this is a great victory. Some absent-minded words are dropped here about the need for economic reforms but we see nothing being done of a positive, affirmative nature, like Truman's abhorred Point IV. All over Latin America the Guatemala incident has made the landless peasants automatically think of the Commies as friends, while the United States is once more identified with the Colonels. So let's turn the newspaper page and forget Guatemala. Next time, maybe, the headlines will be bigger.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

While You Weren't Looking

Voting Art: The Senate put on a rather blatant display of election-year jitters during its debate of President Eisenhower's new tax bill (*NR*, July 12).

There was, of course, the general concern for the taxpayer. Democrats seized the initiative early on this—they've been calling for increased personal exemptions for some time. Slowly, the Republicans perceived the political threat in this challenge and prepared strategy. And when, during the debate, Democratic Sen. Walter George of Georgia introduced an amendment for personal tax relief, Republican Sen. Eugene Millikin of Colorado countered with one of his own. The result: 45 Republicans and 4 Democrats joined to defeat the George proposal; 48 Democrats and 1 Republican joined to knock down Millikin's; in each case the vote was 46-49. Every Senator but McCarthy was present (most unusual) and each one voted *on the record.* In short, 96 Senators can point to the record and show how they voted to help the small taxpayer—who, of course, got nothing.

Then came a chance to do something about the 27.5-percent profit write-off allowed oil producers before they figure up their taxes. Sens. John Williams (Del.) and George Aiken (Vt.), both Republicans, proposed an amendment lowering the depletion allowance to 15 percent. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) also proposed reduction, but on a graduated scale favoring the small, independent companies.

The Senate threw out both amendments. But not on the record. Three times the sponsors asked for a roll-call vote. If 10 Senators had held up their hands—only 10—a roll-call vote would have been required. But the statesmen sat on their hands.

Alien Profits: For more than a year now, a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee has been considering legislation to return "enemy alien" property seized during World War II. Chairman, Everett M. Dirksen (R, Ill.) has led a committee minority for "restitution." Now Democratic members hear that the bill is slated to be slipped through in the final, rushed days of this session.

But it must be so—stock of some seized firms jumped "spectacularly" in value on the Zurich, Switzerland, exchange last week, and busy Secretary of State Dulles took time to testify at length for the bill. Since the return of such assets after World War I produced a series of scandals, President Roosevelt had planned this time to retain them.

Texans Bearing Gifts

THE Blackfeet Indians, whose 1,500,000-acre reservation lies between Glacier National Park and the Kevin-Sunburst oil fields of Northern Montana, cannot understand why a "philanthropist" should find it necessary to travel all the way from Texas to the Canadian border in search of suitable recipients for his philanthropy. Several months ago Lucien Hugh Cullen of Houston, a nephew of Hugh Roy Cullen, the multi-millionaire oilman, made the Blackfeet a proposition. Cullen and several associates—Uncle Hugh was not listed among them — invited the Indians to "enter into an arrangement looking toward development of oil and gas and other natural resources" of the reservation. The Texas group offered to put up capital to launch the proposed development of tribal enterprises; no specific amount was mentioned although various figures ranging from $1 million to $25 million were tossed around in conversation with tribal leaders.

The proposal, in brief, would have turned over to the Cullen group management of all tribal properties, not only for oil and gas exploration, but water rights, power sites, timber and grazing lands. In general terms, the Cullen group was to get half the profits from oil and gas development, after expenses were deducted, and 25 percent of the profits from sale of water rights and power sites.

In conversation, the Cullen group said that if the tribal council would endorse the proposed agreement, several enterprises would be launched at once with Cullen money, even before the contract was voted upon. Among these promised projects was a factory to make bows and arrows for archery fans; restoration of Holy Family Catholic Mission on Two Medicine Creek, an historic site on the reservation that is now disintegrating; and a television-production unit which would employ Indian actors and the magnificent mountain scenery of the Glacier park country.

While the tribal council still was meeting with Cullen and his associates, Union Oil Company of California bid more than $1,000,000 for leases on approximately 25,000 acres of allotted lands on the reservation. Supporters of the Cullen plan said Union Oil was spurred to call for the lease sale in an effort to defeat the Texas group. Union spokesmen deny this, pointing out that Union Oil has been conducting exploration on the reservation since 1951.

On Tuesday, June 16, during an election to choose 16 tribal council members from among 68 candidates, members of the Blackfeet tribe voted 882 to 281 to reject the Cullen plan.

Before the white men came, the Blackfeet ranged from the North Saskatchewan to the Yellowstone in pursuit of buffalo, which gave them nearly everything they needed—food, shelter and clothing. War parties traveled as far as Mexico, sometimes separated from the remainder of the tribe for years; but they knew what they were after—horses and other booty.

Thus it is not surprising to those who know its history that this brave Plains tribe, which fought fiercely to defend its hunting grounds and which has shown shrewdness in negotiations with the Great White Father, was suspicious of the Texans bearing gifts.

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Void for Vagueness

ANOTHER chapter was written in the Owen Lattimore saga by the decision of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. With all nine judges of that court sitting, the court by an 8-1 vote held that the key count of the indictment was "void for vagueness." This count had alleged that Lattimore lied to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee when he testified that he had not been "a sympathizer or any other kind of promoter of Communism or Communist interests." The court said the word "sympathizer" is not of "sufficiently certain meaning to sustain a charge of perjury" and that the vagueness could not be cured by a bill of particulars. One other count was also eliminated by an 8-1 vote.

At the same time, the court reinstated by a 5-4 vote two counts that had been dismissed by the District Court. These counts alleged that Lattimore lied when he denied knowing that "Asiaticus" was a Communist when writing for *Pacific Affairs*, which Lattimore edited, and when he testified that he never published articles by persons he knew to be Communists. Rejecting the contention that the word "Communist" was too vague, the court said that these counts merely raised permissible issues whether Lattimore knew certain persons to be Communists, issues which Lattimore understood.

Lattimore's attorneys claim that the dismissal of the major count "has destroyed any substantial case against him" and that "the remaining counts are trivial." On the other hand, government counsel are studying the possibility of appealing the ruling to the Supreme Court, while claiming that they "could go to trial" with what is left of the indictment.

Poison Brewing

AFTER a year of fervid maneuvering to "get" Sen. Estes Kefauver, the Senatorial race in Tennessee has settled down to an anti-climactic contest between Kefauver and Young Republican Pat Sutton of Lewisburg. The "get-Kefauver" drive collapsed when Bible-Belt spellbinder Frank Clement decided that a return to the Governor's chair involved fewer risks than a contest for Kefauver's seat, and Memphis Boss Ed Crump deflated ex-Gov. Prentice Cooper's aspirations with a public declaration that he didn't have a chance.

Sutton's fate rests on his success in rallying the reluctant Kefauver opposition. He must prove that he has been badly under-rated and can make a real contest of it. To do this Sutton is combining the tactics that in 1950 erased Tydings in Maryland, Graham in North Carolina, and Pepper in Florida. He has placed himself in the hands of a troupe of professional political manipulators from Florida. Backed by an "adequate" (Sutton's term) treasury, they have already done wonders. They have him dropping from the sky on country towns in a helicopter, and are putting him on 24-hour "Talkathons" over elaborate radio and TV hookups.

One of the stage-managers is Robert G. Venn, former business associate of the notorious "Mickey" McBride, whose bookie wire services gave gamblers a powerful hold on Greater Miami until the Kefauver Crime Committee exposed the set-up in 1951. Venn, who managed a McBride controlled radio station, originated the "Talkathon" idea, copyrighted the name, and tried it out successfully in the Governorship race in Florida in 1952.

Another is "Matty" Matthews, a former employee of Venn's radio station, who helped Willis Smith defeat Senator Frank Graham and George Smathers beat Senator Claude Pepper.

The "Talkathon" (cost $13,000) has made Sutton a contender. Though cut and dried and completely stage-managed, the show has the appearance of informality and improvisation. The candidate discusses issues and answers questions taken by a dozen telephone operators and sends out runners to pick up contributions. Sutton claims to have answered 4,200 questions during his 26-hour marathon at Knoxville.

Sutton's campaign is a mixture of racism, isolationism, and anti-Communism. He denounces the Supreme Court decision on segregation as "unconstitutional" and scores Kefauver's silence on the subject. In West Tennessee his pleas for "white schools and playgrounds" have won him a wide audience. Kefauver is pictured as a White House aspirant who "throws himself into the arms of left-wingers," "coddles Communists," and "does not believe in the American form of government."

Meanwhile Kefauver's campaign, seriously crippled by lack of funds, is vastly different from the 1948 "revolt." No coon-skin caps are in evidence. It is given a dignified conservative pitch. Crump is never mentioned and the once-powerful boss has shown no intention of intervening against the Senator. Over-confidence among his supporters is seen as the greatest threat to his re-election. But the witches brew which Sutton is concocting can be a deadly poison.

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From Paris and London

IF EUROPE is as important as Asia, Pierre Mendès-France should be getting support in London and Washington. He is trying harder than any other French premier in recent years to put France back on her own feet. And though the West needs German power, it certainly also needs to remove French weakness so that a workable Franco-German relationship can be forged. Mendès-France is also the first French premier to accept full and open responsibility for a rapid show-down on the EDC in the National Assembly which is, after all, the only body that can decide whether or not to ratify. Yet for his pains he is being treated far more roughly by France's allies than any of his predecessors who though professing personally to favor EDC never did anything concrete to get action on it by the parliament: Secretary Dulles' professed intention not to return to Geneva, nor to send his deputy, Gen. Bedell Smith, at the moment when Mendès-France most needs their presence, is the worst blow yet.

The French Premier could not possibly accept the brutally harsh tone in which Chancellor Konrad Adenauer warned the people of France that the only alternative to EDC is the re-creating of the national German army. So at the moment there is a minor crisis in Franco-German relations. Or rather it is a bad (and, to be hoped, temporary) period in the relations not so much between West Germany and France as between a German Chancellor who is the leading crusader of a Catholic political party for the fulfillment of the Vatican's dream of a "Christian Europe," and a French Premier who, neither Christian nor Catholic, has a different conception of European co-operation.

Adenauer's professed worry is about France—specifically about the possibility that EDC either won't be ratified or will be changed in a manner unacceptable to Bonn. His real worry may well be about Mendès-France — specifically about an evolution toward the Left which may begin in France and then extend to other European countries. The victory of the Left faction—"Democratic Initiative"—at the national congress of the Christian Democratic Party in Italy is a straw in the wind. Adenauer is the last apostle of "Christian Europe" still in power in Western Europe, now that de Gasperi is out in Italy.

The official Mendès-France answer to the Anglo-American-German pressure is quite simply that for France, unity and strength must begin at home. He refuses to be deterred, by what the French call intimidation from his order of priorities: first, a realistic settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem, neither a surrender nor a capitulation; second, a bold approach to the crying need for economic and social reform, a program which is likely to be a French hybrid of the Rooseveltian New Deal and the Crippsian austerity; and, third, a decision on EDC which though in form referring to the nature of French military relations with West Germany, means in essence finding a pattern for political, economic and psychological relations with Germany.

The new French Communist slogan is "For national independence and peace." Mendès-France reverses the order; first, peace in Indo-China, then, a France which can pay, work and if need be, fight her own way. If he fails, above all if he is pushed toward failure by a Christian Democratic German Chancellor, by a Tory British Prime Minister, and by Americans for whom the far Right of anti-New Dealism is the only path of divinely ordained national and international virtue—then the Communists with *their* twisted version will have the right of way. Then, it will be only a matter of time before France too will have an authoritarian ruler of the Right.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

THE LATEST public opinion poll shows the Labour Party one percent ahead of the Conservatives. Though allowance must be made for the normal mid-term swing against the party in power, this result at least gives the British Government little incentive to seek an immediate general election. Moreover the latest proposals for re-drawing parliamentary boundaries seem likely to increase the present bias of the electoral system against the Labour Party, some think by as many as twelve seats. So here too is an argument for the government to delay an election.

More decisive then either of these considerations is the fact that Winston Churchill does not want to lead another British Government in the future, and does not want to hand over responsibilities at present. He has no special loyalty to the Conservative Party, which was never his first love, and which persecuted him so unmercifully between the wars.

His major purposes are a peaceful settlement with the Communist camp and the strengthening of the Anglo-American alliance—purposes not easily compatible at present, and both requiring, as he sees it, his personal attention for many months ahead. Thus unless there is an irresistible revolt inside the Conservative Party against him, he may well stay in office for over a year yet, thus delaying a general election into 1956, when the constitution makes it inevitable in any case.

None the less, a successful revolt against Churchill cannot be excluded. He is now a good deal more popular in the country as a whole than among his parliamentary colleagues.

The Suez issue also remains dangerous for Churchill. Though in the past he has sympathized with the rebels, he now seems convinced that Britain must find a basis for evacuating Suez, though he may well delay publication until Parliament has risen for the Summer recess in a few weeks time. Even so, if he concludes a deal with Egypt on the sort of terms which are now rumored, he will face a major crisis on it at the Conservative Party Conference in October, as well as in Parliament after the recess.

Finally, though he can still rise superbly to occasion, as he did at his Washington press conference, his physical weakness makes his old habit of centralizing decision almost intolerable to his closest colleagues. So it is not inconceivable that, in spite of present signs, a palace revolution may remove him from his present position against his will.

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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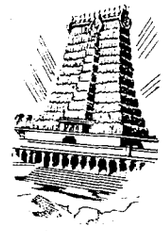
Delhi Dispatch TIT FOR TAT

Contrary to early expectations, a definite proposal for non-aggression pacts among the principal Asian nations did not emanate from the Nehru-Chou En-lai meeting in New Delhi. The Indian and the Chinese Prime Ministers contented themselves with expatiating on the virtues of such an arrangement on the lines of the Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet.

What then was accomplished? The talks fulfilled the set purpose of providing a psychological counterblast to the Washington meeting. If SEATO had materialized from the White House discussions, then a Southeast Asian entente might have sprung into being at New Delhi, with or without Burma, for Indonesia had already expressed itself in favor of it.

The Anglo-American announcement of a Washington meeting placed China in a position like that of Stalin's Russia at the launching of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Persistent truculence by the Soviet Union produced a favorable climate for NATO in Western Europe. Peking wanted to avoid that mistake, believing it would be more sensible to create obstacles in the path of a SEATO rather than try to kill it after it became a reality. Hence, concessions at Geneva, negotiations with the new French Prime Minister, and the mission to New Delhi.

Seen in this perspective, Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to Nehru fulfilled its purpose, for it successfully presented on the world political stage a parallel to the Washington talks which, theoretically speaking, removed the *raison d'etre* for the proposed SEATO. If three principal neighbors of China are satisfied with Peking's assurances to respect their respective sovereignty and territorial integrity, take its promise of non-interference in their internal affairs at its face value and reciprocate the guarantees, where, China can ask, is the need for a defense arrangement? All that is necessary, Nehru and China announced, is extension of the five principles underlying the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet to a wider area in Asia. But significantly enough, no blueprint was drawn for a wider Asian pact on these lines. Perhaps realization that something more than pious platitudes would be needed to convince Burma made Mr. Chou En-lai go slow in this respect. All along the 800-mile China-Burma border, Communist insurgents in league with remnants of Karen rebels have set up pockets, which are being fed with armaments and food supplies by Peking. Otherwise, the Burmese Army, in spite of the distraction provided by the Kuomintang irregulars, would have liquidated them long ago. Burma will not take any Chinese assurances seriously until assistance to these insurgents is discontinued. More, Burma does not share Mr. Nehru's opinion that international Communism is a mere ideology, and can be depended upon to honor a non-interference pledge.



Indonesia is different. Its present Prime Minister, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, heads a seven-party coalition supported by the Communists. More cordial relations with the Communists will not only enhance Dr. Sastroamidjojo's bargaining power *vis-à-vis* the other parties but will also positively help in the ensuing General Election by reducing the number of contestants. The easiest way of winning Communist support is by toeing their foreign policy line.

There is a deep-rooted feeling among the policy-makers in New Delhi that China may prove different from Russia, even if she may not openly break with the Kremlin. It is therefore argued that efforts to resume political and trade relations with the Peking regime will strengthen this tendency, instead of amounting to appeasement of Communism. And this, more than anything else, is responsible for India not reading the Communist meaning into phrases like non-aggression, respect for territorial integrity, etc.

The Indian Prime Minister does not consider spread of Communist influence in India through non-military means as aggression; he is on the other hand confident of countering the Communist appeal through perceptible improvement in the economic conditions of the people, for which end he is prepared to accept US assistance. This inherent contradiction in Mr. Nehru's stand is the result of the distinction he makes, hypothetically though, between international Communism and the local Communists. The latter he will fight, but the former he will try to befriend.

During his speech at the banquet given in honor of Chou En-lai, Nehru said, "We achieved our freedom under different circumstances and by different methods. Each country should have freedom to follow its own policy and work out its own destiny, learning from others and co-operating with others, but basing itself essentially on its own genius." These observations were evidently meant for the Communists at home. It was in fact a categorical assertion that the Communist way of life was unsuited to the genius of India. But the flaw lay in believing that world Communism would respect the freedom of people to shape their destiny.

When India accepted and started receiving American economic and technical assistance, the ruling Congress Party of Mr. Nehru became susceptible to Communist criticism that the aid agreements with Washington constituted a sell-out to the "imperialists." They said Nehru's professions of neutrality were only a smokescreen to hide his real subservience to America. During the last two-and-a-half years, Nehru has succeeded in turning the tables on the Communists. The most recent instance was an Assembly by-election in the Capital city of Delhi. Nehru's partymen made full use of the friendship between India and China to impress on the electorate that Nehru could do what the Communists could only shout about. Chou's visit made it difficult for the Communists to describe Nehru as a reactionary and themselves progressives.

The Chou-Nehru talks had a dual purpose: China wanted to counter Western efforts to consolidate and develop Southeast Asian defenses against possible incursions by Communists, and Nehru wanted increased strength to fight his political battles with rivals at home.

New Delhi G. S. BHARGAVA

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Paul Crouch, Informer

by Willard Shelton

PAUL CROUCH, best-paid of all government career informers against Communists and alleged Communists, is a mild-mannered but fiercely determined man with a sense of mission, a long and still-continuing affinity for secret-lodge operations, and a persecution complex. To his own apparent bewilderment, he feels abused and forsaken by Herbert Brownell's Justice Department, whereas he was uplifted and trusted by those old "Commie-coddling" Fair Dealers when *they* were in charge of Justice. So his persecution complex now expresses itself in fierce resentments against the Washington columnists Drew Pearson, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, and Attorney General Brownell and Brownell's underlings. All are in a conspiracy against him—and he has a ready explanation of this unlikely combination of fairly important "conspirators" against one formerly obscure little ex-Communist professional witness: Joe McCarthy likes and trusts him, Crouch says, and Brownell, the Alsops and Pearson dislike McCarthy.

He is going to sue every newspaper that printed Alsop and Pearson columns questioning his veracity as a witness, he says. He has demanded an FBI investigation of Hoke Welch, managing editor of the *Miami Daily News,* for swearing that Crouch was never a writer for the newspaper, as Crouch himself swore he had been. He wants an investigation of Brownell assistants who, he claims, failed to transmit to the Attorney General various telegrams, registered letters, etc., with which he bombarded the Department when Brownell first announced—somewhat reluctantly—that Crouch's conflicts of testimony would be "studied." And, displeased with Brownell's own attitude, he went up to Capitol Hill on June 21 to file "sworn and signed" charges of a "serious nature" against Brownell and his deputy, William P. Rogers, with the Senate Judiciary Committee and Senate Government Operations(McCarthy) Committee.

In his checkered career, Crouch has had some few years of relative prominence—or notoriety—separated by periods of obscurity, during which he did odd jobs. He now thinks of himself as having been a pretty important Communist functionary during the Twenties and Thirties: "representative" of the American party to "Executive Committee, Communist International." He went to Moscow. As a soldier, in 1925, he was court-martialed and convicted of scheming Red infiltration of the armed forces. Sentenced to 40 years imprisonment and dishonorable discharge, he actually served about 26 months, ending with a year and 10 months in the Alcatraz Army disciplinary barracks.

His second period of prominence came when he began testifying as an expert government witness in Smith Act and deportation cases against his former comrades or alleged comrades. Turned violently anti-Communist, he employed his fund of knowledge to make himself valued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, by government prosecutors, and by Red-hunting Congressional Committees. On August 29, 1951, he was engaged—not employed—as a special consultant of the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Bureau at a fee of $25 per day when he was assigned to some job, plus per diem expenses when he was on a case.

The law allows consultants like Crouch to be paid for a maximum of 18 days a month, and across the past two years, at least, he has been paid more than any of Immigration's other consultants—$9,675. He prefers to live in Hawaii, and when he is brought to the mainland

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to testify, his expenses and per diem are paid by the government. He may appear before a Congressional Committee, testify in a denaturalization or deportation hearing, or testify in court, but the Immigration Bureau picks up the tab each time. He was brought here this year by request of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department to testify in the Philadelphia Smith Act trial of nine "second-string" Communist leaders, including one David Davis.

IT IS this trial, the alertness of the respected Joseph S. Lord, a court-appointed defense lawyer of a different stripe from those involved in many Smith Act cases, and the journalistic energy of the Alsop brothers that started Crouch toward his present state of frustration and rage. For when Crouch testified repeatedly against David Davis as an easily recognized, well-remembered fellow Communist, Lord dug up some testimony in the 1949 Harry Bridges perjury trial—and forced Crouch to acknowledge that he had then sworn firmly that he knew of no Communist functionary and former associate named "David Davis."

The conflict in testimony was so startling—so categorical and unchallengeable—that the Alsop brothers promptly wrote an eloquent column publicizing the facts and asking why the conflict of sworn testimony should not be investigated and whether the government didn't care that it employed expert witnesses whose reliability, at least on the surface, seemed something less than exact. They finally wrung from Brownell the promise of a "study."

The next cropper for Crouch came from his testimony in a Chicago deportation hearing involving Jacob Burck, Pulitzer-prize winning cartoonist for the *Chicago Sun-Times*. Many years ago, when Burck was an immigrant free-lance artist in New York, he was selling drawings to the *Daily Worker*. Urged by the comrades to join, he took a party membership book for fear of losing his market, but attended only a few meetings. He since has had a long anti-Communist record and certainly does not want to be deported back to Red-gripped Poland, where he probably would be jailed if not killed. Crouch testified against Burck—but also testified at length against himself, in describing what he did in Florida for many years, when he first openly recanted Communism and decided to "co-operate" with the FBI, how he happened to lose jobs, etc.

Burck's Washington lawyer, Joseph A. Fanelli, got the notion of checking this Crouch autobiography, given under oath, with people who might be in a position to know about him. He came up with a blockbuster of a brief, giving Crouch's career in detail and packed with affidavits in support of the allegation that Crouch was totally unreliable, a liar in reciting his own past life, a liar about when and before whom he "openly" recanted Communism, about other matters.

1. Crouch testified that he had "openly" recanted Communism in 1946 in the presence of an FBI agent and a "personal friend," one Judge Oscar C. Dancy of Brownsville, Tex. Judge Dancy filed an affidavit that he "never met Crouch in my life," was not a "personal friend," and "am positive that I never had any conversation with Crouch in the presence of an FBI man or of anyone else touching the subject of Communism or any other subject."

2. Crouch testified that he used to be editor of the *Union Record*, "official organ of the CIO in Florida," and that he once was CIO Florida publicity director. Various CIO officials in Florida filed affidavits that the *Union Record* had never been their "official organ" and that the CIO had never had a Florida publicity director, that their records did not show that Crouch had ever been a member of the CIO in Florida, much less an official. An AFL editor, in an affidavit, described "the so-called *Union Record*" as having "faded from sight" and later blossomed anew "strictly as a racket sheet."

3. Crouch swore that in 1948 he had been editor of the *Dade County* (Fla.) *News*—and has mastheads and photostats seeming to prove it. But tax records, according to an affidavit by the collector, show no assessment for the *Dade County News* in 1948, and the postmaster by affidavit asserts the Miami Post Office "has no record of the *Dade County News*" as having been admitted to the mails as second-class matter.

4. Crouch swore that he had been employed in editorial capacities by the *Miami Herald* and *Miami Daily News*. The managing editors and others connected with the papers submitted affidavits denying this, saying his work had been in the mechanical departments.

PAUL CROUCH is the man credited by Roy M. Cohn with furnishing the "information" on Communist infiltration that led to the Fort Monmouth hearings — and the television row between Senator McCarthy and Army Secretary Stevens.

Crouch is under belated Justice Department "study" because of seemingly direct conflicts in his sworn testimony in two court cases. His veracity also is under attack in a pending denaturalization and deportation case.

Before he broke with the Communist Party, Crouch worked partly on infiltration of the Army. As a soldier, he was court-martialed and convicted in 1925, and served 26 months of his 40-year sentence.

Crouch has testified in scores—perhaps even hundreds—of hearings, trials and Congressional committee inquiries, and unquestionably much of his testimony has been accurate. The question the Justice Department is now considering is whether it has always been accurate, whether his character as suggested by freshly produced evidence supports a claim to basic reliability.

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The Fanelli brief quotes US District Judge Alexander Holtzoff, a former Justice Department official and a tough judge on Communists, as saying in a case, "I am amazed that the Immigration and Naturalization Service should employ him. . . . " The brief sums up:

> Here is a man quick to brand acquaintances and associates as fellow-Communists; an inveterate "name-dropper" prepared to meet the exigencies of any new situation with a conveniently pat story; a witness who himself confesses that he does not recall 99 out of every 100 names he speaks as he moves from hearing to hearing (Crouch in a Subversive Activities Control Board case).

NOW THE interesting thing about Crouch still is that, although looking like a college professor and at Congressional hearings even exuding a curious impression of warmth, he responded to all this with tigerish wrath and no show of intimidation at all. He has an "explanation" of the contradictions about David Davis in the 1949 and 1954 trials, vouched for by another ex-Communist who is also a career informer. He has an "explanation" for the *Miami Daily News* and *Miami Herald* episodes; he insists on the authenticity of the *Dade County News* and his editorship. And in addition to uttering threats of libel suits and demanding Senatorial investigations of Brownell and Rogers, he has now built up a voluminous file of press releases that might be termed the Crouch Correspondence.

These press releases, ordinarily made available only to the three press associations (and perhaps to some favored newsmen otherwise), are in curious form. They reveal one thing clearly—that if Crouch did work for a metropolitan newspaper in an editorial capacity he never learned the elementary facts of producing copy. One "release" was more than six pages long, single spaced, with scarcely no margins at top, bottom or sides. It was phrased in the guise of a canned news story, not a publicity release, with Crouch referring to himself throughout in the third person, and was complete with quotation marks furnished where he decided he would like quotation marks.

There was a perfect torrent of words—impassioned phrases to assert Crouch's reliability, to impugn Stewart Alsop himself as an "ex-Marxist," to warn that every department of the government even at this minute is infiltrated with Communists, "including the Justice Department." (The charge against Alsop is based solely on an *Atlantic Monthly* article of 1941, describing the intellectual climate of the Thirties.)

Then Crouch threw his bomb: he had filed charges with Senate committees against high officials. He did not then identify these officials except "confidentially" to the wire services, but later admitted for publication that they were Brownell and Rogers. In a later interview he said he had talked to Senator Knowland, that a "spokesman" would see Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams, and that a Senator would ask the President himself for an investigation of anti-Crouch allegations. Intimidated? Not Crouch.

Crouch does not work full time as a witness. He has energy also for the Chinese Nationalists here; he is living at present in Washington, rent-free, at 2200 R Street, N. W., in a house owned by the Most Reverend Paul Yu-Pin, Nationalist Archbishop of Nanking. The residence also is headquarters for the Chinese Institute of Culture. Crouch does some work there, also, for a relatively new organization which calls itself The Christianform (that is, anti-Cominform), which has an official organ, *For God and Freedom*. Crouch is a member of the Board of Advisers of The Christianform. A member of the Board of Directors is Rep. Charles J. Kersten (R, Wis.), who allows The Christianform to mail out reprints in his franked envelopes. Crouch seems to be working part-time while in residence in Archbishop Yu-Pin's home.

The attitude of Brownell's Justice Department about Crouch, while he is under "study," has seemed occasionally anomalous. At first Department spokesmen simply refused to answer questions, even as to whether he was still being used on cases while his record was being studied. (One explanation is that, since Crouch may still have to testify again in Philadelphia there is nothing the Department can appropriately say.) But Crouch himself finally issued a press release claiming he had been "suspended." Justice's story is that since he was never an employee, he could certainly not be "suspended," and hadn't been. The plain fact is that Brownell just is not using him any more. A spokesman says, "We can't very well invent assignments for him, and if he isn't on assignment he can't claim pay." Greater candor might compel the admission that Justice doesn't want to vouch for Crouch right now, which is exactly what Crouch thinks—and he hates it.

A KEY to Crouch's character—the world within him, the pattern of his thoughts—may be revealed by a fragment of his defense testimony in the old Army court-martial. Testifying on a letter addressed to his parents, in which he had named one of the other people helping Communists infiltrate the forces, he denied the authenticity of some of his letter in these terms:

> I am in the habit of writing letters, both to my friends and to imaginary persons, sometimes to Kings and foreign rulers, and in this work, in writing these letters, I place myself in all kinds of imaginary positions. I do this for the purpose of developing my imaginative powers.

He said the letter was "semi-fiction, part truth and part fiction." He "embellished in ways; that is, by local setting, by putting in some facts and failing to mention others . . . not by deliberate falsehood however."

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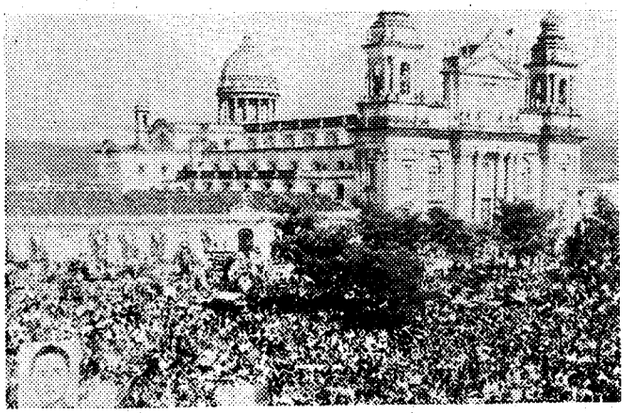
PERSPECTIVE ON GUATEMALA



We Won't Turn the Clock Back—Maybe

by Edwin A. Lahey

MR. SIEGEL, in the article which follows, expresses the civilized view that the new right-wing government in Guatemala should not try to turn the clock back on the social reforms enacted in that republic since the revolution of 1944.

When the Arbenz government was being knocked over a few weeks ago, pursuant to the wishes of the US State Department, a number of responsible people in Guatemala City shared Mr. Siegel's view, among them Ramon Blanco, the influential editor of *El Imparcial*, the most substantial business enterprise in Guatemalan journalism. Even a United Fruit Company man down there said piously that, "We can't turn the clock back."

I thought the same thing, but maybe it's a little wistful. Revolutionaries, whether they are left-wing or right-wing, have never been noted for moderation. The earnest promises in Guatemala that "we won't turn the clock back" remind me a little of the lawyer who told his client, "They can't put you in jail."

Edwin A. Lahey, a veteran reporter for the Chicago Daily News, *has just returned from reporting the recent revolt in Guatemala for that paper.*

The client's only answer was: "Where is I speaking from?"

As Mr. Siegel well says, the role of the United States in Guatemala and elsewhere in Central America is "crucial," in that we can strike a blow for democracy by safeguarding the social, economic and political gains won in Guatemala since 1944.

But it's late in the game for such obvious and logical idealism. We had 10 years, from 1944 to 1954, to convince the Guatemalans that they could organize a trade union movement, enact agrarian reform, and even settle their differences with United Fruit without using a guide book from Moscow.

But we didn't do it. We waited until the Reds had Guatemala pretty well staked out, with Communists in the key spots in the government machinery for administering labor law and agrarian reform. Then our only recourse was to hope that the Guatemalan exiles led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas in Honduras would by some happy chance find arms, men, and airplanes for an invasion. It was just our luck that Castillo Armas did come by some second-hand lethal weapons, from Heaven knows where.

THERE are other Guatemalas in the incubator in Central America. In Honduras, where the banana workers of the United Fruit Company have had a long and bitter strike, the Communist agitators are having a field day, despite repression by the government of President Manuel Galvez, a former counsel in Honduras for United Fruit. Honduras will have its second "democratic" national election in October, and the mixed-up nature of the issues is well illustrated by the cry of Ramon Villeda Morales, presidential candidate of the non-Communist, left-wing Liberal Party, who proclaims, "I have received no money from either Moscow or Boston."

In nearly every corner of Central America the social and economic conditions are an invitation for Communists agents to heat up the job, even against the certain knowledge that if they become too influential, the US won't like it and will do something about it.

The biggest blooper in our foreign relations probably is the failure of the State Department to give the Latin Americans a better picture of the real spirit of the US.

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This spirit is best expressed in some of our inspiring Point Four programs on the Isthmus of Panama. In El Salvador, for example, American technical experts for 12 years have been showing the people and the government first how not to die, and second how to live better. The results have been dramatic and inspiring in a small way, and point to a solution of the basic problems below the border.

But for every Latin-American who is conscious of the US, projects which make the term "do gooder" an honorable appellation, there must be 10,000 who think of Washington as the capital of the "master race," ready to slap down any government that goes too far and too fast in its attempt at either social or economic reform.

Clearly, the State Department has in our generation muffed its job of showing the landless, ill-housed, ill-fed and illiterate citizens of Central America what the American people really stand for.

What Will the New Regime Offer as Its Own?

by Morris Siegel

Most Americans view the overthrow of the Communist-influenced Arbenz regime in Guatemala as a decisive victory for democracy, one which was sorely needed to offset, somewhat, diplomatic setbacks suffered in other parts of the world. At this moment of victory, however, it would seem best to temper elation with caution. Regardless of the type of government that takes control in Guatemala, two fundamental, and interrelated, questions still must be faced squarely. What will be done about the reforms instituted since the October, 1944, revolution? And what kind of program will the new government offer as its own?

Press reports to the US have repeatedly noted that most of the reforms carried out by Guatemala's last two governments were long overdue and essentially non-Communistic in character. The objection was that Communists infiltrated the reforms and obtained key posts in their administration. Thus, Communism could claim the credit for all political, economic and social gains achieved.

Morris Siegel, Professor of Anthropology at Atlanta University, served in wartime with the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Office of Strategic Services. He has conducted three field studies of Guatemala, the latest in 1953 in his capacity as Economic Affairs Officer for the United Nations.

Now that the Communists have been eliminated from public and otherwise strategic positions, there is danger that the reforms with which they were associated may be thrown out, too. The changes which occurred in Guatemala in the period 1944-1954 included several significant "firsts." Well-organized political parties were established, including pro-government and anti-government groups. Popular elections paved the way for an administration and legislature composed of representatives of pro-administration as well as anti-administration forces, the latter acting as a vociferous opposition. Meanwhile, the franchise was widely extended.

Opposition elements expounded their views to the public via several newspaper organs, ranging from the respectable, mildly anti-government *El Imparcial* to the bitter, fanatically rightist *Impacto*. Indeed, anti-government newspapers outnumbered government organs by a considerable margin—truly an innovation in dictator-ridden Guatemala.

Perhaps the most important political reform dealt with local government, which directly affects the lives of the majority segment of the population, the Indians. Prior to 1945, local municipalities were governed by officials appointed for indefinite terms. The *Jefe Politico* (*i.e.*, Governor of a Department) made these appointments and only he and the President of the country could remove the officials.

The highest local officials were usually non-Indians (called Ladinos), even in municipalities predominantly inhabited by Indians. Ladinos all too often ruled like little dictators, and they generally disregarded Indian views and needs. In this they reflected the general situation in Guatemala, in which a Ladino minority held political, economic and social dominance over the Indian majority and so conducted government as to maintain this dominance. Ladinos thereby managed to stay on top for more than four centuries.

But after 1945 the principal municipal officials were elected by popular vote for definite terms. Where Indians predominated, Indian officials usually won office, and they were given the legal means to rule effectively. This was the first time since the Spanish conquest of Guatemala early in the sixteenth century that Indians obtained any measure of political power. The profound effect of the change throughout Indian country, even the remotest communities, was clearly visible on Indians and Ladinos alike, as I can personally attest. It brought dignity and responsibility to the Indians in place of the traditional subservience and dependency.

In the economic sphere several significant "firsts" also made their appearance. For example, trade unions were permitted for the first time in Guatemalan history. Unions sprouted quickly and soon, through strikes and the threat of strikes, they secured higher wages and improved working conditions in many parts of the country. The unions were mainly Communist-led, and

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they could count on the open or tacit support of the government in their struggles against management.

The Agrarian Act, welcomed by the numerous landless peasants of Guatemala, was an attempt to alleviate an acute land situation in which two percent of the population owned 70 percent of the land, much of it idle. Under the Act—a comparatively mild one as land reforms go—the government expropriated unused, privately-owned land in excess of 250 acres and distributed it among landless peasants according to certain specified conditions. The expropriatees received compensation in the form of non-negotiable government bonds payable in three to 20 or 25 years. Landowners raised a storm over the amount of compensation, which was based on their own recorded assessments of the value of the land for taxation purposes.

The Arbenz and previous Arevalo administrations substantially increased the wages of government employees, particularly of teachers. Before 1945, rural school teachers—the largest group—earned between $10 and $17 a month. Frequently, their salaries were months in arrears, though eventually full payment was made. These teachers represented one of the most depressed economic groups in Guatemala.

AFTER the revolution, *Titulados,* that is teachers with six years primary school and five years normal school training, earned $75 a month, with increments of $15 every five years until a maximum of $150 was reached. *Empiricos*—by far the majority—were teachers who qualified for a rural post with only six years of schooling. These *Empiricos* received $30 a month, a sum inadequate to meet even low rural living standards. Effective July 1, 1953, however, their salaries were upped to $50 per month, an increase greater than even the most optimistic had anticipated.

The outstanding economic reform from the Indian standpoint was the termination of forced labor under the Vagrancy Law. Historically, the Spaniards had first enslaved Guatemala's Indians, then turned them into serfs, then converted them into debt servitors (until 1936), and then forced them into involuntary labor through the Vagrancy Law. This law stipulated that every adult male officially inscribed as a peasant must work in agriculture 100 to 150 days a year unless he owned and cultivated a certain specified acreage himself. Since few Indians owned sufficient land to meet the requirements, the Vagrancy Law made available large supplies of low-wage Indian labor to Ladino farms, especially the coffee plantations. Severe penalties insured compliance. Although this law remained on the books, the post-revolution governments did not enforce it at all.

The impact of this reform, plus that in local government, was little short of remarkable. In 1953, Indians repeatedly told me: "Now we are free. We are equal to Ladinos. President Arevalo himself told us so. Now no one can force us to work on a coffee plantation far

OTHER GUATEMALAS?

Most of Central America is in a feudal state—a few families are very rich; there is almost no middle class; most are very poor—rich soil for the sowing of Communist promises. The social conditions which in 1944 caused a popular upheaval in Guatemala are duplicated in neighboring Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Costa Rica. And so are many of the political conditions which permitted Communists to exploit popular discontent by parading as the *only* champions of reform.

Costa Rica (pop. less than one million) has the strongest tradition of democratic government and is politically the most stable of the Central American nations. The President, Jose Figueres, derives his support from the non-Communist Left. His opponents, however, threaten to drive the young labor unions into Communist control by challenging their right to exist.

Nicaragua (pop. one million plus) also gives the appearance of political stability, but at the cost of one-man rule. President Anastasia Somoza is virtually a dictator, and his son, who now controls the military, wants to succeed him. An attempt to assassinate Somoza last year indicates the growing extremism of a repressed opposition.

Honduras (pop. 1.5 million) is in very bad shape economically. A general strike has virtually paralyzed the nation for almost three months now. The party of President Juan Manuel Galvez is badly split.

El Salvador (pop. two million) is a nation of great poverty and a few immensely wealthy families. Lt. Col. Oscar Ossorio, the President, is trying to walk the middle of the road, to the displeasure of both the very poor and the very rich.

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away against our will. We will go only if we want to. President Arevalo told us this, too."

Many Ladinos, however, yearn for the "good old days" of Ladino domination over Indians under personal dictatorial regimes. These elements resent any Indian advancement.

The period following the 1944 revolution also witnessed the first introduction of social welfare provisions and social security measures in Guatemala. Finally, education facilities expanded substantially throughout the country and, recently, a countrywide adult literacy campaign went into operation.

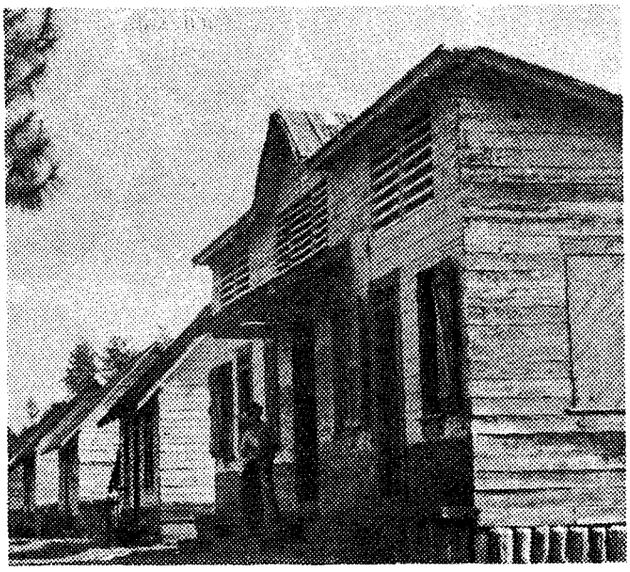
This brief sketch of the concrete gains achieved in Guatemala since 1944 indicates profound alterations in the traditional patterns of life. Large sections of the population benefited directly from the changes, including the Indians generally, and the labor force, landless peasants, government employees and school teachers in particular.

ALL THE reforms noted are clearly acceptable from the point of view of democracy. The single exception, perhaps, is the hotly debated Agrarian Act. But even this Act could be made acceptable with certain slight modifications, specifically the stipulations dealing with the manner and amount of compensation for expropriated land. Most complaints, in fact, involved compensation.

What kind of political-economic-social program will the new government project? At present it is only known that it will be staunchly anti-Communist. But a review of the situation in recent years may provide helpful hints.

Though small in numbers, Communists appeared to exert considerable influence through the strategic posts they held in government and in trade unions. In addition, they unquestionably "had the ear of President Arbenz." Communist ideology, on the other hand, had not yet penetrated far among the masses, most of whom, particularly the Indians, are illiterate or semi-literate and thus unprepared to grasp quickly any political ideology, be it Communism or democracy. Nevertheless, Communist activities were paving the way for such an ideological penetration.

The Communists followed a basic Marxian principle: "Action first, then ideas." Hence, they stood in the forefront of programs designed to improve conditions for those most in need. They led the trade union movement; they pushed hard for social security and social welfare measures; they directed the land distribution phase of the Agrarian Act; they leveled attacks against the wealthy classes, especially landowners and the "Yankee exploiters," themes which are popular in Guatemala. It is irrelevant, so far as the immediate beneficiaries of these reforms are concerned, whether the Communists had ulterior motives behind their actions.



Guatemalan workers' houses

What were the non-Communist forces doing in the meantime? Many leading non-Communists worked hard, if rather anonymously, to put over the much-needed reform program. Many others, however, in their hatred of Communism, refused to associate themselves with any program including Communists. Thus they became identified as anti-reformists to much of the population.

Equally damaging to the non-Communists was their utter lack of unity, and, consequently, their failure to spell out the steps toward social and economic improvement. Instead they dissipated their energies in squabbles among themselves and in blasts against the government and its program.

At this critical time for Guatemala it should be kept clearly in mind that the major reforms achieved are matters of actual fact, irrespective of whether sponsored and carried out by Communists or non-Communists. It would indeed be tragic if, in the name of anti-Communism, the new government attempted to obliterate those democratically-acceptable reforms which have spread widely and penetrated deeply among the inhabitants. Such a "turning-of-the-clock-backward" could possibly be done, but only by clamping down an iron dictatorship on Guatemala. This would mean the forging of another Spain.

The role of the United States in Guatemalan affairs is crucial. United States diplomacy has an opportunity to recover some of the prestige lost through the "affair of Guatemala." United States policy should aim to safeguard all political, economic and social gains which have helped raise the living standards of Guatemala's population in the last few years. It should lend its immense prestige as leader of the free world in support of additional democratic reforms which will improve Guatemalan life.

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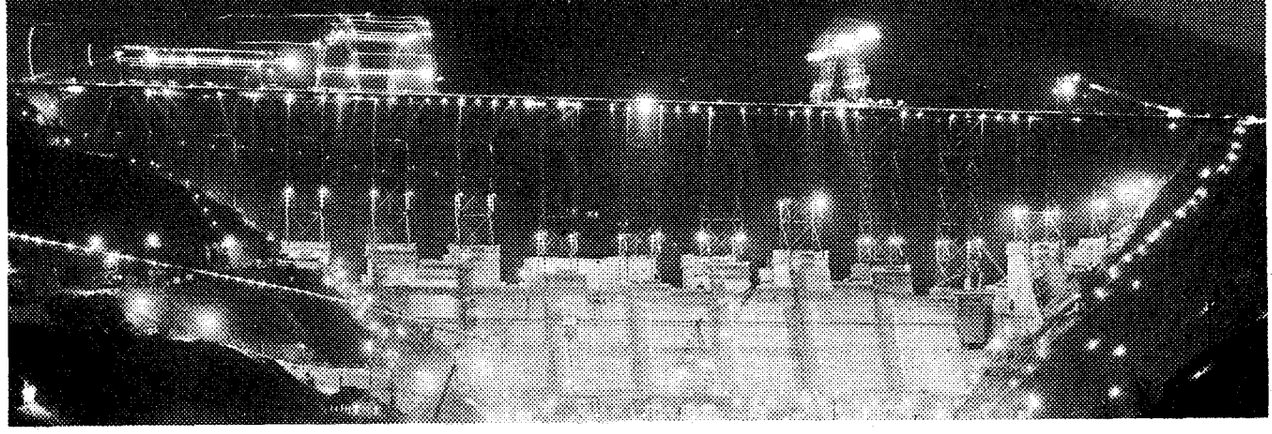
"Everybody Loses . . . Everybody"

The Perversion of Power



by Lister Hill

On Thursday, the 17th of June, after five months of waiting, the meaning of the President's budget message with respect to the Tennessee Valley Authority became crystal clear.

No money was requested in the budget to provide new generating capacity on the TVA power system. As an alternative, the message stated that "arrangements are being made to reduce, by the fall of 1957, existing commitments" of the TVA to the Atomic Energy Commission by 500,000 to 600,000 kilowatts. The plan, as it was generally understood, was for AEC to find a private supplier to take over a portion of the TVA commitment to furnish power to the AEC at Paducah, Ky. . . .It was understood that if satisfactory arrangements for such an additional power supply were not developed, a request for supplemental funds would be submitted at this session of the Congress in time to permit TVA to begin construction of new capacity.

In the same budget message the Congress and the public were advised that the decision was contingent not only upon the success of these arrangements to find another power supplier for AEC at Paducah but also upon the assumption that there would be no increase in the total national-defense demands on the TVA power system.

The people of the TVA region, the friends of TVA in Congress, responsible opinion everywhere assumed the message was submitted with some understanding of the problems and in good faith. We waited to be advised of the results of the explorations AEC was reported to be making. Some time ago we understood that new defense power requirements had already developed in this critical defense area, specifically that the Oak Ridge facilities of AEC had given notice that more power would be needed prior to 1957. We waited through February, March, through April and through May to discover what the administration would recommend. Until the morning of June 17, when the Independent Offices appropriation bill carrying TVA appropriations was safely through both Houses and the conference report had been agreed to, the proposals made to AEC, the analyses reported to be under way, and the decisions reached were all something of a mystery. But on that morning, in testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the Administion's answer became clear.

Neither of the alternatives set forth in the budget message to Congress had been pursued. TVA is not released from supplying a single kilowatt to the AEC. No new capacity is added to the TVA power system. Those were the stated alternatives. New defense requirements have admittedly developed but no new capacity is requested to meet them, although that was a stated condition. Instead, the President has directed AEC to negotiate a preposterous arrangement under which the power to be generated at a site to be selected by the Dixon-Yates private utility combine is to be purchased by AEC, not for its own use but to be fed into the TVA system and resold to TVA consumers.

According to the directive from the President, the terms of this contract are to be negotiated by AEC, the

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Lister Hill, senior US Senator from Alabama, is the co-author of the TVA Act, among other important social legislation.

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Nation's most highly sensitive and vital national defense agency, an agency above all others which should stand apart from, above, and beyond any controversies regarding domestic matters, an agency which should be left entirely free and protected to pursue its all-important, vital work of producing atomic energy.

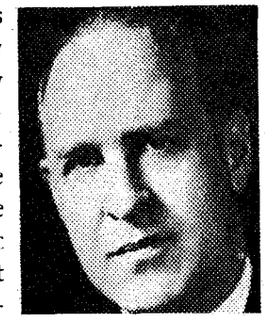
As the AEC assumes the responsibility of a power broker in this fantastic arrangement, it will begin to drain millions of dollars directly from the federal treasury every year to be turned over as a subsidy, as a hand-out, to a favored private utility combine, a combine headed by the very men who have long been identified as leaders in the frenzied campaign directed by the private utility companies to bring about the destruction of TVA.

Certainly it was never the intention of Congress that the Atomic Energy Commission should submit to any such prostitution of its great powers. . . . The AEC was to be an independent body, charged with a most sensitive and most vital responsibility.

NO EMERGENCY confronts the Nation which would justify the Chief Executive in overriding the judgment of a majority of the Commission. A simple problem was presented. The government owns a system of power generation and transmission—the TVA. TVA has the responsibility of power supply for a certain area, just as private power companies do for other areas. The largest single customer of TVA is the government itself, through AEC. Loads are growing in the area—government loads and the loads that are made up of the total electricity used on farms, in homes and in private industry. To meet these new loads TVA needed more capacity. The management of TVA made a recommendation to the owner, the federal government, for the investment of more capital, precisely as a private-company management would do. TVA came to the Bureau of the Budget in the regular way last autumn. The Budget refused to transmit the request to Congress, and, as the President's message suggested, undertook instead to explore the possibilities of relieving TVA of a portion of its commitment to AEC. TVA understood, and those of us who were concerned understood, that the decision would be made on the basis of a comparison of the over-all cost to the government of that alternative solution. *Yet this bizarre arrangement is ordered in spite of the fact that the cost to the government will be greater, if this proposal is accepted, than if funds are provided as requested by TVA.*

The AEC itself estimates that the excess cost to the government of accepting this proposal, rather than adding power to the TVA system, will be more than $3.6 million every year for 25 years, a total of *$90 million* over the life of the contract. TVA estimates that the minimum additional cost to the government will be more nearly $5.5 million annually, a total of some $139 million over the contract period. Those figures do not represent the cost of the power, of course. The figures simply represent the excess costs above the costs to the government of providing the power by additions to the TVA system. These figures simply measure the bonus this Administration is willing to pay to avoid continued operation of TVA at maximum efficiency.

This Administration is willing to commit the federal government to an annual expense of between $3 and $6 million to add to the millions the private companies are ready to spend every year to destroy the TVA. It is willing to pervert the powers of AEC to accomplish the purpose despite the fact the testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy showed that three out of five members of the AEC oppose the plan. The General Accounting Office questions its legality and its wisdom, and refers to the excess costs as a "subsidy" to the power companies.



Senator Hill

Some people do not seem to realize that there is no competition in the power business; it is a monopoly business and a cost-plus operation. The Dixon-Yates private utility combine proposes to borrow 95 percent of the money to build the plant on the strength of a government-guaranteed power contract. The other 5 percent will be provided by the utility holding companies represented by Dixon and Yates. On this 5 percent they will be given a 9-percent return. The government will provide this profit. The government will pay all their taxes, state and local, even their federal income taxes. No doubt this novel arrangement will be described as a great achievement of free private enterprise. This is nonsense. It is free pie for the private utility monopoly. There is no risk.

The government will pay for the plant whether it is built by TVA or Dixon-Yates. The only difference is that the government will pay more in this case and will never own the structure or get the profits.

I am not a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, but from conversations with members of the committee, and a reading of portions of the transcript, it is clear that the chairman of AEC, who felt compelled to support the Dixon-Yates proposal, went to the length of endeavoring to discredit the record of TVA's performance at Shawnee in comparison with the record of the Joppa plant built by Electric Energy, Inc., a private utility combine across the river to serve the same AEC installations at Paducah. Both Admiral Lewis Strauss and Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols tried to give the committee the impression that power from TVA was more costly than power from Joppa. The record would have stayed that way but for the vigilance of members of the joint committee who invited clarification by a member of the staff of TVA who was attending the hearings.

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The facts about Joppa are well known. EEI and TVA had started building plants in the same Paducah area at the same time. The Joppa plant was scheduled to come in first, and the private utilities had widely boasted that the Joppa-Shawnee construction would be a race, that the private utilities would win. But TVA won the race; Shawnee was five months ahead of Joppa, TVA completed the first four units under its estimates of cost, but Joppa costs went $58 million over estimates. The first four units of the Shawnee plant were built at a cost of $145 per kilowatt; Joppa will be something over $195 per kilowatt.

Those who followed the record of the two projects knew that Ebasco, hired by EEI to supervise construction, was fired when the job was half way through.

Yet on June 18, 1954, a few days ago, the second day of the hearing before the joint committee to hear Admiral Strauss and General Nichols, one would have thought that power from Joppa was a bargain compared to power purchased from TVA.

ADMIRAL Strauss' spirited defense of the indefensible record of Joppa is all the more surprising in view of the testimony of Commissioner Thomas E. Murray before the joint committee. Now, Mr. Murray has never been identified as an advocate of TVA. He is recalled as the man who suggested the idea that a combination of private utilities would be able to deliver power to AEC facilities at Paducah quicker and cheaper than TVA. It was his initiative that created EEI which in turn employed Ebasco to supervise construction of the Joppa plant.

Mr. Murray opposes this perversion of the function of AEC to destroy TVA and testified about Joppa:

> . . . The "Ebasco Fiasco" . . . is quite a slogan. Unhappily it was not conceived without some justification. Putting everything one can into the balance in favor of EEI, one must admit the bald fact that the EEI operation was found wanting.
>
> A section of private power interests was given a fair opportunity to prove what it could do. . . . Competition was out in the open—competition as to time and competition as to dollars—and no one can escape the fact that TVA won the Paducah power contest. . . .

I should like to know why Chairman Strauss feels it incumbent upon himself to defend the record of Joppa. Is it because Ebasco is once more to undertake the construction of a plant for private utilities *Dixon-Yates proposes to use them.* Is his defense of Joppa required because Mr. Dixon is a participant in EEI, as well as a sponsor of the new proposal?

I do not know the answer to these questions. I only know that I am outraged by the way this whole matter has been handled. Everybody loses except the Dixon-Yates combine. Everybody. Power consumers of the Tennessee Valley lose. AEC loses. The federal treasury loses. The taxpayers lose. The national defense loses. The reputation of this government for integrity and wisdom in the conduct of its affairs is diminished. Whether the extra cost to the Treasury will be $90 million or $150 million, or $200 million, or more, I do not know. What is here revealed is an effort to force upon one Commission, over the disapproval of a majority of its members, an action foreign to their responsibilities in order to accelerate the destruction of another agency—TVA—an agency distinguished for integrity and competence, but regarded with hostility by this Administration, hostility so well exemplified by the President calling TVA "creeping socialism."

The pledge implicit in the budget message of the President has not been kept. TVA is not relieved from a kilowatt of its contractual responsibility to provide power for AEC. And defense loads have increased. But no capacity is to be added to the TVA system. The Board of TVA has been advised that in spite of the fact that the requirements of the AEC at Oak Ridge have increased, no new capacity for TVA would be requested of this Congress. If an actual shortage occurred, wrote the Director of the Budget, Mr. Hughes, out of a wealth of ignorance, power could be brought in on an interim basis. Power on an interim basis is costly, and puts the customers at the mercy of the private power companies who have shown a vested interest in the extinction of TVA.

I do not believe that this Administration had any intention of recommending new capacity for TVA under any conceivable circumstances. The assurances read into the budget message allayed fears and frustrated opposition. The region and its representatives relied upon good faith, but now both the conditions under which we understood new capacity would be requested have been met. Release of power now committed to AEC has not proved to be a feasible solution, and defense loads have increased. Yet no request is forthcoming from the Administration. With callous deliberation a power shortage has been scheduled in the Tennessee Valley.

BY CONTRACT or by crisis the power consumers of the Tennessee Valley are to be made dependent upon the very private companies they once rejected as power suppliers. And yet we hear pious talk of developing partnerships between local, state and federal government. The people of the TVA power service area entered into a real partnership with their government. They voted in referenda across the area. The 150 local distributors of TVA power, municipalities and REA co-ops, have an investment of more than $400 million in that partnership. They have invested dollars, time and talent. They have invested faith. Now they face betrayal. Under this Administration their wishes are ignored, their future is threatened. Instead they find a new partnership created by the government they trusted—the Bureau of the Budget, the AEC, and the Dixon-Yates private utility combine joined in a partnership created to destroy them.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

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The Superficial Aspect

THE AFFLICTION recently visited upon the Hon. Harry S. Truman may save an indefinite number of lives, although if the same thing had fallen upon you or me, it would have been wasted. Mr. Truman is a prominent citizen, which means that anything happening to him is studied with interest, and if it contains a lesson there is a fair chance that the lesson will be learned.

ACCORDING to the bulletins issued at the hospital Mr. Truman stood the surgery very well; the trouble was caused by an unexpectedly violent reaction to post-operative medication. Surgery, no matter how skillful, necessarily entails some injury to the tissues, and the new antibiotics —the "wonder drugs"—are employed to allow the tissues to heal without interruption caused by infection. But it happens that Mr. Truman's system has an unusual aversion to some of these drugs so it was touch-and-go for awhile.

In coarse lay language, this means that Mr. Truman survived the injury, all right, but damn nigh died of the cure.

The possible value of the case is the fact that it impresses upon the mind of the layman respect for the trickiness of the new drugs in a way that nothing else could. There is every reason to believe that they were administered to Mr. Truman under the most rigid controls that science can devise, yet at that they almost stopped his clock. Obviously, they are nothing for the unschooled laity to fool with.

This should be of material assistance to medical men in dealing with hypochondriacs who have learned all about science from the Sunday supplements and who demand a shot of penicillin every time they pull a hangnail back to the quick. If these persons can be convinced that a careless shot of some antibiotic may shoot them into the Great Beyond, they may subside and allow the doctor to treat their malaises as they should be treated.

Perhaps it may assist the profession again by calling attention to the widening gap between the engine power of chemotherapy and its braking system, whose technical name is pharmacology. Pharmacology is a dull, pedestrian science. It produces few spectacular effects. It doesn't advance by leaps and bounds, it plods. The inevitable result is that it rarely occurs to philanthropic millionaires to give huge sums for its advancement, and never to earnest souls to organize drives and sell stickers in order that we may acquire more exact knowledge of the proper dosage of the new drugs.

Pharmacology occupies in the medical schools something like the unfortunate position of history in the liberal arts colleges. It is essential, but nobody gets excited about it. A few years ago, when a donor gave a million dollars to the department of history at the Johns Hopkins University, the dominant emotion was astonishment. Nobody had ever heard of endowing history, yet a man completely ignorant of it would not know what to do with the rest of his education after he had acquired it.

The case of Mr. Truman has high-lighted the fact that while we know that the new drugs will destroy or render innocuous certain pathogenic organisms, we are pathetically ignorant of what else they may do to the human body. It is the business of pharmacology to find out, but it is slow work, requiring an immense amount of experimentation, much of it expensive. The biochemist is miles ahead of the pharmacologist, in part because he has engaged the interest and so received the financial assistance of laymen.

BEFORE the Truman incident got into the news Jacques Barzun was arguing tartly that the doctor ought not to become a pill; he could argue twice as effectively now. Barzun had in mind especially the American habit of gobbling vitamins with only the vaguest notion of what vitamin, if any, is really needed and still less of what extra load is imposed upon the eliminative organs by vitamins that are not required.

He could really say something now that the case of Truman has demonstrated that we are throwing highly poisonous antibiotics around with not much more knowledge of their after-effects than the physicists have of the ultimate effects of radioactive dust after a hydrogen bomb has exploded. Perhaps he will say something. Perhaps others will say more, and say it more tartly. That would be salutary in that it might add high social value to Mr. Truman's narrow squeak.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Science and Political Misunderstanding

by Julian Huxley

THE TITLE of the Reith Lectures delivered by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer for the BBC in London in 1953 was *Science and the Common Understanding*. Dr. Oppenheimer must have chosen his title before the atomic storm burst upon him: I wonder what he would have adopted if he had had to make the choice today. *Science and Political Misunderstanding* would certainly be a good description of the lamentable affair; but to this issue I will return.

Let it be confessed at the outset that some of the lectures are not easy on the average human understanding. It is extremely difficult to expound to laymen such matters as the quantum theory and the uncertainty theory, even with plenty of space and plenty of diagrams: Dr. Oppenheimer's exposition of these and similar matters is compressed and dispenses with diagrams or illustrations. The two chapters dealing with them are difficult enough even in print, where the reader can pause and look back to refresh his memory; as radio talks they must have been very hard to follow.

Science and the Common Understanding, by J. Robert Oppenheimer (Simon and Schuster; $2.75).

Thus in speaking of "quantitative rules for assigning a wave function to describe the outcome of an observation," he says, "their exposition presupposes some mathematical talk and calls at least for a blackboard"—neither of which could Oppenheimer very well provide.

On the other hand, they are well worth following. Even if the reader fails to grasp much of the technical detail and the scientific reasoning involved (which, as the physicists themselves tell us, is almost impossible without the aid of higher mathematics), he is given an understanding of the principle of complementarity, which Dr. Oppenheimer makes the keystone of his further treatment.

The general argument of *Science and the Common Understanding* has a historical basis. It falls into three main parts. First, we have a brilliant account of the revolution in physics effected by seventeenth century science and especially by Newton's work, and the new understanding and new outlook on the universe which it made possible. Secondly, the story of man's penetration into the world of subatomic physics, beginning with Rutherford's adventurous genius, but leading speedily to various kinds of philosophical impasse, or at least difficulty—such as the envisaging of light as consisting of waves under one aspect and particles under another, or Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle. This was then followed by a new revolution in which physics was rescued from its impasse of thought by means of quantum theory, relativity, and the principle of complementarity.

And finally, in his last chapter, Oppenheimer seeks to apply these revolutionary ideas, especially that of complementarity (which he equates with the need of reconciling apparently incompatible points of view), to various general problems of human thought and affairs, both old and new.

THERE IS much else of interest here, notably an admirable description of the curiously haphazard way in which science grows and develops, different branches following up their own trails, developing their own terminology and methods, often with apparently different goals; but then linking up in surprising ways, or even hybridizing to produce new fertile branches. However, it is on the main argument that the book is to be judged, and I must amplify a summary of it.

The seventeenth century scientific revolution that is rightly personified in Newton led to the concept of a firm and universal causality, and to the growth of a mechanistic outlook:

> For the eighteenth century, the world was a giant mechanism. It was a causal world. . . . All that happened had its full, complete, immediate, efficient cause. The great machine had a determinate course. A knowledge of its present and therefore its future for all time was, in principle, man's to obtain, and perhaps in practice as well. The giant machine was not only causal and determinate; it was objective in the sense that no human act or intervention qualified its behavior. . . .

And, we may add, in the sense that man and his mind were envisaged as somehow outside and apart from it. "A physical world so pictured could not but sharpen the great gulf between the object and the idea," as well as that between man—for Pascal the thinking reed, and for the theologians the being created in the image of God—and the brute creations. Oppenheimer might have added that the postulate of creation by an external Creator left the system saddled with an irreconcilable dualism.

MEANWHILE the triumphs of Newtonian science led to a belief in the power of reason and the immediate and universal applicability of the scientific method, which to eighteenth century philosophy appear as pure reasoning tempered by observation and experiment (rather than the modern view, of science as a groping after brute and non-rational fact, upon which reason later operates to extract the maximum of regularity and comprehensibility); and so to a general theory of rational progress.

The second section of the argument deals with the discoveries of atomic physics, culminating in the very upsetting discovery that, as Oppenheimer writes:

> The behavior of an atomic system is not predictable in detail; . . . [there is] in the very heart of the physical world an end of that complete causality which had seemed so inherent a feature of Newtonian physics.

This was accompanied by the equally upsetting discoveries that not only light but atoms and subatomic units are (or at least can only be described by us as) simultaneously waves and

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particles; and that we can never determine both the position and the velocity of a subatomic unit. And this "means that every intervention [of ours] to make a measurement, to study what is going on in the atomic world, creates, despite all the universal order of this world, a new, a unique, not fully predictable situation."

Modern physics, based on the quantum theory and all its implications, thus introduces us to an "acausal" world, very different from the causal universe assumed by Newtonian physics. However, as Oppenheimer is careful to point out, the new does not invalidate the old:

> The philosophers and popularizers who have mistaken relativity for the doctrine of relativism have [misconstrued] Einstein's great works as reducing the objectivity, firmness and consonance to law of the physical world.

Again,

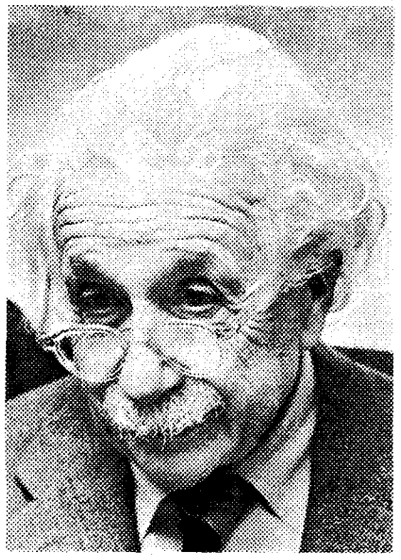
> Newton's law of gravitation and his equations of motion apply to and underlie immense realms of physical experience and are not made wrong by the fact that in other and still vaster spheres they must be replaced by the broader laws of Einstein. The chemical theory of valency has been explained, elucidated, and to some small degree extended by an understanding, in terms of the behavior of electrons and nuclei [i.e., in terms of atomic physics], of what goes on in chemical bonding; but the chemical theory of valency is not superseded and will presumably be used as long as man's interest in chemistry continues.

The biologist can add that precisely the same applies to the theory of Mendelian or particulate heredity in relation to our knowledge of biochemistry and the behavior of self-reproducing nucleoprotein chains.

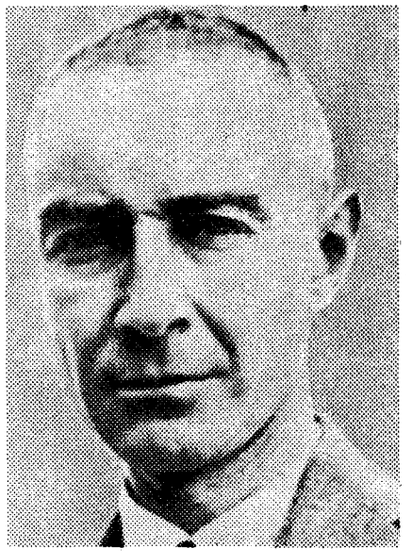
NOR, as Oppenheimer carefully points out, can the conclusions of one branch of knowledge be seized on to be applied indiscriminately to another. Among such "lighthearted misapplications of the findings of atomic physics to human affairs" he stigmatizes the notion that "the acausal and indeterminate character of atomic events" provides a basis for man's freedom.

But this, important though it be, is an excursus. In his final chapter Oppenheimer takes up the question of what atomic physics has done for the common understanding, how its discoveries have affected the way men look at life, their world-picture and approach, their *Weltanschauung*. He is mainly concerned to show the general importance of the idea of complementarity. Lest I be accused of misinterpreting, I will quote from what he says. After pointing out that many "ways of observing are needed for the whole experience of the atomic world" and recalling that in any specific instance "there is a proper and consistent way to describe what the experience is; what it implies; and what it predicts," he goes on to say that "any such specific instance excludes by its existence the application of other ideas, other modes of prediction, other consequences. They are, we say, complementary to one another. . . . And so it is with man's life. He may be any of a number of things; he will not be all of them. . . . So it is with the great antinomies," among which he cites the antinomies between change and "the eternity which inheres in every happening"; between growth and order; between freedom and necessity; between the life of the will and the life of reason; between the question "how?" and the question "why?" and "to what end"; and finally between the individual and the community.

From a strict point of view, this seems to be stretching the notion of complementarity rather far. It is taking a scientifically defined technical term arising from and applicable to the particular problems of atomic physics, and applying it to quite other problems in very different fields. While there is some analogical justification for describing the different potential roles of a man—as poet and as scientist, to take an example mentioned by Dr. Oppenheimer—as complementary approaches to experiences at different times, it is hard to see how the antinomies between growth and order, individual and community, or "change and eternity" can properly be so regarded. In the last example, by the way, semantic difficulties seem to have intruded; *eternity* is surely a question-begging term. But even if we substitute *the enduring* for *the eternal*, it cannot strictly be called complementary to *change*. Here, I should have thought, the antinomy is really between more changeable and more enduring, and its reconciliation is to be sought in the concept of process or evolution. Again, the antinomy between individual and community seems best reconciled in the concept of unitary field or pattern rather than in that of alternatively complementary methods of approach.



Einstein



Oppenheimer

BUT this criticism is perhaps pedantic. Dr. Oppenheimer has performed a valuable service in reminding us that the world is full of antinomies, that they must be faced and if possible reconciled or transcended, and that this reconciliation can only be achieved if we tackle it from both ends, so to speak, taking both the opposites into consideration. Such an approach

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can usefully be called complementary in a broad and general sense. The only danger is one against which Dr. Oppenheimer has warned his readers elsewhere—the danger of taking the idea of complementarity in the precise and restricted sense in which the atomic physicists have defined it, and then attempting to apply it in fields where it is not rigidly applicable.

THE DISCUSSION of the complementarity of individual and community has come to have a painful interest in view of the way in which this antinomy has worked out in the particular case of Dr. Oppenheimer himself and the American community. What he has written is charged with a prophetic sense.

We may presume that the gathering clouds and lowering atmosphere of the political climate forced him, perhaps unconsciously, to an affirmation of the position of science and the scientist. Here is the background:

> Each of us knows the great new freedom, sensed almost as a miracle, that men banded together for some private purpose experience from the power of their common effort. We are likely to remember the times of the last war, where the common danger brought forth in soldier, in worker, in scientist and engineer a host of new experiences of the power and the comfort in even bleak undertakings, of common, concerted, cooperative life.

And here is the affirmation:

> This open access to knowledge, these unlocked doors and signs of welcome, are a mark of a freedom as fundamental as any. They give a freedom to resolve difference by converse, and, where converse does not unite, to let tolerance compose diversity. *This would appear to be a freedom barely compatible with modern political tyranny* (Italics mine.)

Later, after speaking of man's new power of destruction, he writes "the increasingly expert destruction of man's spirit by the power of police [or, we may add, of politicians], more wicked if not more awful than the ravages of nature's own hands is another such power, good only if never to be used." And finally, this moving affirmation about scientific discovery:

> For most of us, in most of those moments in which we are most free of corruption, it has been the beauty of the world of nature and the strange and compelling harmony of its order, that has sustained, inspirited and led us; . . . and if the forms in which society provides and exercises its patronage leave these incentives strong and secure, new knowledge will never stop as long as there are men.

It was because Dr. Oppenheimer was to an exceptional degree animated by these incentives that he was able and willing to undertake the terrifying task of organizing the project which led to man's first practical utilization of intra-atomic energy and so to the making of the first atomic bomb. Without him, it is more than likely that progress would have been slower, and that the bomb would not have been ready to explode over Japan. And this is the man who is now regarded as a "security risk" and debarred from access to "classified information"! If it were not so tragic, it would be laughable: but it is tragic. It is tragic for that exceptionally brilliant and exceptionally sensitive individual, Dr. Oppenheimer; but it is more intensely and massively tragic for the United States.

An onlooker from the other side of the Atlantic must marvel at the anti-liberal, anti-intellectual, anti-democratic smog, of which Senator McCarthy is the smoggiest ingredient, which is in process of obscuring the light of intellectual and scientific freedom in America. He bitterly regrets this retrogression of liberty on the part of the most powerful and in so many ways the most alert and enterprising country of the Western world. But he can take a little comfort from the strength of the reaction which McCarthyism in general and the Oppenheimer case in particular appears to be provoking among the more thoughtful and the more intelligent of America's citizens.

Perhaps it is necessary that here too one man should suffer for the people. If the Oppenheimer case helps to provoke the moral and intellectual explosion needed to blow the McCarthyite smog off the fair face of America, and to re-establish tolerance of qualitative diversity and intellectual freedom as the true basis of democracy, in place of the merely quantitative power of mob opinion, Dr. Oppenheimer's ordeal will not have been in vain.

Edgar Poe in Context

POE'S IMPORTANCE for literature has been adequately defined during the last few decades; his peculiar cultural importance—which is almost to say his importance for American literature in all its relevant contexts—is what requires definition now.

As poet, he operated via the French symbolists to help effect the mode of European and American poetry through which we have just passed; as writer of fiction, he helped shape the short story into an art form; as critic, he was on purpose the hazy idealist intent upon "Supernal Beauty" as an absolute sepa-

The Haunted Man: A Portrait of Edgar Allan Poe, by Philip Lindsay (Philosophical Library; $4.75).

rating Poetry from verse, and at the same time, seemingly by accident, the realist concerned with technique not trance, quick enough to tomahawk a transcendentalist "Supernal Oneness" that ignored "Infernal Twoness." Poe's criticism, when it is criticism, gives him a position in America akin to Dryden's in England.

But these facts have been allowed to obscure Poe's most important role—one suggested in Brinnin's remark that "where Whitman was the evangelist of a new democratic society, Poe was perhaps its palace priest, dwelling upon those mysteries which any mature society will have to take into account." That is why a biography of Poe can be more helpful at present than a study of his immediate influence or art alone. A biography—provided it is a literary one and not only a narrative or human-interest assortment—exhibits in provocative juxtaposition materials necessary for understanding Poe's total meaning in our culture: the large social context, or group of contexts, of which his art is a result and valuation; the artist's intelligence; and the art itself, with its reverberations upon the American experience that informed it, then by extension upon experience in general.

Lindsay's book is not such a biography: working in England, he has done nothing to distract interest from the standard life by Quinn; he does not pretend to offer more than a retelling—it is overwrought and not always reli-

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able—of the powerful story Poe's life is, with only stock treatment of the man as artist, and none of the focus or synthesis that the meaning of the story makes us want.

Life and art are almost inseparable for Poe, as Lawrence significantly recognized: he is "absolutely concerned with the disintegration-processes of his own psyche." Lawrence explained this as a scientific refusal to leave anything unknown; Tate agreed that Poe attempted to usurp the angelic imagination rather than accept the human one responsible for art, to seek essence rather than image.

No. At least, the crux seems to be elsewhere—in the art Poe had to achieve in his time. And the discrepancy between what he was and what Lawrence understandably wished he had been, is itself his real contribution to our literature. This discrepancy can be most precisely defined as the difference between style and form in his work. Lawrence spoke of the "mechanical consciousness" and the "sleep-consciousness" in Poe; these are synonymous with his style and form. When Tate said that Poe expressed "the disintegration of personality, but kept it in a language that had developed in a tradition of unity and order," he used the facts but inverted the meaning. Lawrence had come closer: "On top, all is fair-spoken. Beneath, there is awful murderous extremity of burying alive."

Viewed in an ivory vacuum, Poe's art would have to be explained as his description of a subliminal area by means of a language particularly standardized or social in its own area. But this view is neither literary nor critical—it explores the artist but ignores the art. The art itself is rather an expression of the most personal native awareness by means of an exceptionally inflexible verbal medium that corresponds exactly to the alien social awareness it objectifies. Poe's real subject, then, is not simply the burying alive of his enigmatic personality in a foreign culture oblivious to it, but the burying alive of the will in the act, the dream in the sleep.

It is this—and not an affinity to part of Freneau before him, McCullers or Capote after—that justifies Eliot's naming Poe with Whitman and Twain as the first distinctively American writers. Poe counts not as a Gothic romancer but as the writer who got hold of two inimical monsters and tied their tails together. Call them jingling meter and booming nightmare, civil prose and savage meaning, convention and chaos, past and present, routine and responsibility—what matters is that Poe joined them, and thereby started something that every major American author has had to take into account, and that Faulkner has succeeded in treating with the authority which finally settled it as art.

Poe announces what Faulkner (Conrad, quite differently, for Europe) resolves; he orders the unspeakable to speak in language civilized unto death; his barbarians wear clothes polite enough for Mrs. Grundy at her most squeamish. If the result is often bombastic or melodramatic, it is also supremely ironic, because the style is disclosed as a static pretense swathing the dreadful but live form, an outworn costume that pretends to suit the form but really smothers it. Poe's obsession with incest—far from unique in his era—has its counterpart in the embarrassing exclusiveness that his style, penuriously aristocratic at its worst, frequently displays; his necrophilia equals the style itself.

Yet the beating of the murdered heart finally insisted, louder and louder through the neatly-fitted floor-boards of the mind, upon responsibility and justice and an order inherent rather than superimposed. The distance between Poe and Faulkner is that between one moment of American society valuated by the first American author (Poe's superficial exoticism is of course very much about America), and another valuated by perhaps the finest to date. Indeed, Faulkner's Quentin Compson is the definitive perception and measure of Poe's meaning. There is no question of dismissing either of Poe's monsters —life without a floor is no solution to life without a heart—but the trick is to get them to reconcile. It is the total human problem, eventually, and one that Poe had not sufficient ability to solve in his art or, as Lindsay's book once more reminds us, in his life. But Poe met the problem, and stated it for our time as well as for his own. He was not popular then; he is popular now because he says the awful truth from a safe and prudent distance; and the awful truth is always popular with us, if it can be read in mixed company.

Like his Hans Pfaall, Poe thought to escape involvement with an emergent culture, "determined to depart, yet live —to leave the world, yet continue to exist—in short . . . to force a passage . . . *to the moon.*" But this was involvement, for Poe defined the ugliness of life on a satellite, and therefore the life itself. The Colonials—Hawthorne and Melville, James and Eliot—offer visions of profound beauty; Poe's American vision, as he plummets back down to earth, is just as indispensable.

Though he leaves us with a dualism, resolving the monsters of social tradition and personal awareness only melodramatically, Poe is vital to our own tradition and awareness. His triumph was in a sense his very failure, for given his artistic intelligence he could not have been both familiar and successful with his materials. His language is a Freudian censor—he is Joyce going the other way—that allows him to formulate the House of Usher and so, in spite of himself, to appraise its own stylistic implications. There is perhaps more horror in his elegant voice than in his vision, but it is a reassuring horror: it summons witnesses against itself, and they tell nothing but the truth.

JAMES HAFLEY

Between Ice Ages?

MOST SCIENTISTS are now agreed that the climate is again changing over very great areas of the world. This process has been in operation for at least 65 years and perhaps a century, and has been accentuated in the past two decades. Comparisons of average temperatures over a long period of time are often tricky and unreliable; early thermometers were not very good, and changing physical conditions may cause average temperatures to seem to alter when in fact they don't. However, even Prof. John H. Conover of Harvard University, a most cautious gentleman, thinks that the average winter temperature of New England has increased

Climatic Change: Evidence, Causes and Effects, edited by Harlow Shapley (Harvard; $6).

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about two degrees in sixty years, and that of the Arctic, six degrees—tremendous changes from the meteorologist's point of view.

We know that warm-water fish are moving north, and that cold-water fish are migrating still farther toward the Arctic. The planting season in some parts of the North Temperate Zone appears to be lengthening. Vegetation is growing higher on Norwegian mountains. Glaciers in Iceland have receded, exposing farm buildings that have been buried for six hundred years or more. Some glaciers elsewhere are reduced in size.

This change in climate may be a mere temporary swing of a few decades or centuries—an insignificant period from the viewpoint of the geologists. It may mean further progress from the end of the last of the great Ice Ages, which was at its maximum in North America a mere 30,000 years ago, and still showed lingering traces as recently as 2,000 B. C. The change may, again, mark the end of what Dr. Shapley calls the Little Ice Age, which began in certain regions about the time of Britain's first Queen Elizabeth, and has lasted until the present. It could also mean the beginning of a new Ice Age. Paradoxically, this would need to start with warm weather, to accumulate an unusual amount of snow in the Arctic.

About two years ago, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences brought together a group of several dozen assorted experts on climatic change for a two-day conference to talk about this development and related matters; those present included geologists, astronomers, geographers, meteorologists and followers of other disciples. Among them were some men well known to the general public, such as Dr. Shapley himself, Carleton S. Coon, Paul B. Sears and Donald H. Menzel; others, less well known outside scientific circles, are equally leaders in their own specialties. This book contains the papers read at the conference. I should have preferred a stenographic transcript of the casual discussion, but even this formal presentation contains dozens of items of fascinating interest.

During most of the life of this planet, the experts seem to agree, the weather was far milder and more equable than anything with which we are acquainted. In the last million years or so, however, there have been at least four great cold spells, during which, in the Northern Hemisphere, glaciers many hundreds of feet thick and many miles in width have crept down across Europe and North America, sometimes as far as the latitude of Kentucky. These Ice Ages have lasted many thousands of years; in the intervals between them, there have been periods when even in the Far North the temperature was as hot and humid as today's tropics. (In the mid-Mesozoic era there was one very hot and muggy spell that lasted 100 million years.) And as recently as historic times, there have been great fluctuations. It was, for instance, warm and dry from 4,000 to 2,000 B.C., cold and wet from 500 B. C. to 100 A. D., warm and dry from 400 A. D. to 1,000 A. D., and cold and wet again (comparatively) from 1,200 A. D. to the present time.

What has caused these great fluctuations of the last million years? Dozens of explanations have been offered, some of them incompatible with each other. Perhaps the most popular are these:

(1) Changes in the effective radioactivity of the sun.

(2) Fluctuations in the density of the "cosmic dust" out in interstellar space. This dust, which comprises about half the matter in the known universe, is more concentrated in some places than in others. When the sun and its planets pass through a cloud of such dust, the earth could be shielded somewhat from the solar rays. Prof. Max Krook of Harvard says the earth has passed through several such clouds, some of which may have affected solar radiation for as long as a million years at a time.

(3) Changes in the radiation caused by changes in the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

(4) Obscuration of the sun because of dust spewed forth by volcanoes. Some experts suggest that the greater warmth of the past fifty years may result from the gradual disappearance of dust set afloat earlier by Krakatoa, Katmai and other volcanoes. Volcanic dust particles could also form the nuclei of ice or raindrops, and thus affect climate.

(5) The rise of new mountain ranges. This can alter air currents and can also of course encourage glacier formation, especially near the Poles.

A number of cyclical phenomena have been noted which might affect weather, ranging from the familiar sunspot variations every 11.6 years up through others of 20,000 or 80,000 years to the granddaddy of all cycles, mentioned by Prof. John Wolbach, a recurring cold wave every quarter of a billion years.

Most of the experts whose papers appear in this volume stick closely to their subjects. An exception is the editor who, as is his privilege, wanders in his own chapter over a wide field. Many laymen will be interested in his computation of the possibilities of high developed organic life elsewhere in the universe. Although only one planet, and it is rather doubtful, has been reported outside our own solar system, Dr. Shapley thinks it is reasonable to suppose that one star in a million might have one or more planets. Among these planetary systems, one in a thousand might have organic life, and of these in turn, one in a thousand could see highly developed organisms. This means only one chance in a trillion; but since there are perhaps 100 quintillion stars, there could be as many as 100 million planets with sentient beings.

As in most symposia, the writing in this one is uneven. Some of it is heavy going for the layman, though richly rewarding if you work hard at it. Few passages are as tough as the one which says that "a certain dystrophic lake's metabolism is overbalanced and it cannot work the dy into a less humic gyttja."

BRUCE BLIVEN

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Notes on the Critics

JULIAN HUXLEY, British Biologist, is the author of numerous technical and popular scientific books. JAMES HAFLEY is the author of *The Glass Bell,* a forthcoming study of Virginia Woolf.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► The House of Unrepresentatives

The series of three provocative articles by Gus Tyler on the "unrepresentative" character of the Congress and the state legislatures ("The House of Un-Representatives," *NR*, June 28-July 12) leaves one large question unanswered: "What can be done about it?" Mr. Tyler suggests the need for a Committee on Fair Representation. How is this apparently desirable Committee on Fair Representation to come into being?

JACK SKEELS

Madison, Wis.

• • •

I have the following suggestions to make for remedying the quite alarming situation pointed out by Mr. Tyler in his recent articles.

It seems to me that the whole problem of districting, re-districting and accompanying gerrymandering could be eliminated if Representatives, like Senators, were elected *at-large* from each state. This would tend, in certain areas, to promote what would amount to proportional representation.

The mechanics of my proposition can be outlined as follows:

(1) The political parties, in State Convention, would elect a slate of candidates for the number of seats allotted to the state. Only those people so elected could bear the party label. All other candidates wishing to run would have to have a designated number of signatures on a petition to the Secretary of State or other such state officer charged with election rules and procedures.

(2) This would, in effect, eliminate the need for open primary elections such as exist in many states. . . . The average citizen would tend to join more freely and participate more actively in the party of his choice under this plan. Parties would be more democratic and more responsible.

(3) The parties would win seats in Congress in proportion to the vote for the slate and the party platform. . . .

(4) This system might be feasible for the election of State Legislatures as well. States could be divided into logical geographical or economically or socially distinct areas.

(5) It is suggested that National Conventions of the Parties be held every two years for the purpose of redefining their platform and for confirming or changing the leadership of the parties. It is further suggested that the President of the United States be elected by the first joint session of Congress, once every two years. This would insure that the Administration was of the same party and platform as the working majority of Congress.

WILLIAM A. BASNIGHT

Seattle, Washington

Readers who would like to see a permanent CFR (Committee on Fair Representation) in this country are urged to communicate with me, care of New Republic. *I would be glad to do an initial job of gathering a nucleus for such a committee.*

Gus Tyler

► A Philosophical Smoke-Screen

On the back of your *NR*'s June 28 issue is this little tid-bit:

> Blowing the smoke away is the big job of this magazine . . . for 40 years now.

On page 20 Ernest Nagel tells us:

> The sciences seek to explain events and processes, whether natural or social, by ascertaining the uniform conditions upon which those occurrences are contigent. It would therefore be nonsensical and self-defeating for any inquiry to claim that when it has found a successful explanation for any trait or process, that trait or process does not exist or ceases to be what it is. In short, the theoretical discoveries of science do not impoverish the content of existence nor do they diminish the variety of things in nature. . . .

Please have Mr. Nagel blow some of the smoke away so I can see it. Ask him please, to rewrite the passage in words of two syllables or less. This will take him out of complex, vague, abstract Greek-Latin and keep him much closer to the concrete, in simple Latin and plain Anglo-Saxon. Also, it will help him choose words that serve the main purpose of language: Not to get meaning over to himself, but to get it over to the other fellow.

This is a severe penance, but I've had to get severer and severer with my authors. Have you noticed of late that many of them become bemused by "introspection," that they end up writing only for themselves? If he doesn't mend his ways, I'll ask him to rewrite his next lapse in words of *one* syllable.

JACK O'NEILL

San Diego, Calif.

► The Spanish Temper

Daniel M. Friedenberg's incisive essay, "The Paradoxes of the Spanish Civil War" (*NR*, June 28), was in every respect, I think, a scholarly analysis of the political and cultural forces at play at the time of the civil war in Spain. However, I encountered certain evaluative statements of the Spanish temperament which stimulated my interest. At one point Mr. Friedenberg decides that, "The Spanish people are compulsive by instinct" . . . that "parliamentary concepts are doomed by the intrinsic qualities of the Spanish nature."

Was Mr. Friedenberg simply using such phrases for the literary effect that they carry, or is one to interpret the assertions literally? If Mr. Friedenberg actually believes that a nation can have an instinct for compulsivity or natural intrinsic qualities antithetical to democratic procedure, I would suggest that he either enroll in an introductory course of anthropology, or seriously reflect on his own "compulsive instinct" toward thinking in rigid and deterministic categories.

THOMAS C. PATTON

Columbus, Ohio

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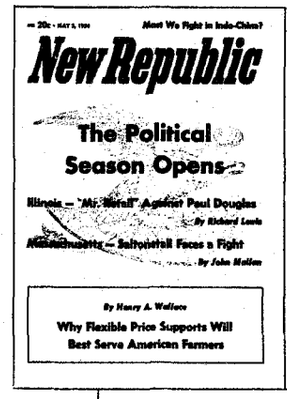
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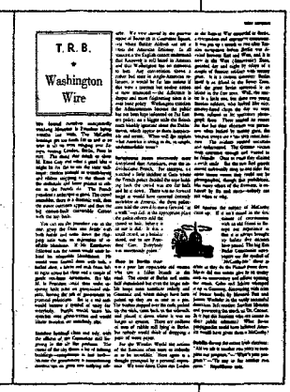

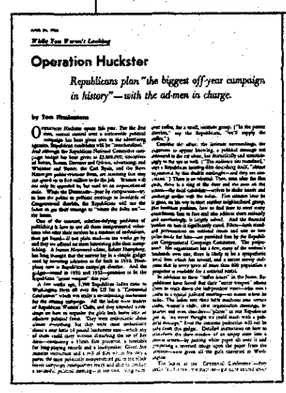

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